2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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the beginning there was nothing, all was emptiness; there was only space. Before there were the heavens, there was no earth, and when there was no earth, there was no sky. . . . Through meditation, the world serpent Antaboga created the turtle Bedawang, on whom lie coiled two snakes as the foundation of the World. On the world turtle rests a lid, the Black Stone. There is no sun, there is no moon, there is no night in the cave below (the underside of the stone); this is the underworld, whose gods are the male Batara Kala and the female Setesuyara. There lives also the great serpent Basuki. . . .

" Kala created the light and Mother Earth, over which extends a layer of water. Over this again are consecutive domes or skies, high and low; one of mud (which dried to become the earth and the mountains); then the 'empty' middle sky (the atmosphere), where Iswara dwells; above this is the floating sky, the clouds, where Semara sits, the god of love. Beyond that follows the 'dark' (blue) sky with the sun and the moon, the home of Surya; this is why they are above the clouds. Next is the Perfumed Sky, beautiful and full of rare flowers, where live the bird Tjak, whose face is like a human face, the serpent Taksaka, who has legs and wings, and the *awan* snakes, the falling stars. Still higher in the sky *gringsing wayang*, the 'flaming heaven of the ancestors.' And over all the skies live the great gods who keep watch over the heavenly nymphs." [1] Thus we have it that the island rests on the turtle, which floats on the ocean.

As the last Asiatic outpost to the east, Bali is interesting to the naturalist as an illustration of the theory of evolution. In 1869 Alfred Russell Wallace discovered that the fauna and flora typical of Asia end in Bali, while the earlier, more primitive biological forms found in Australia begin to appear in the neighbouring island of Lombok, just east of Bali. Here the last tigers, cows

[1] This is from the Tjatur Yoga, a popular manuscript which I translated for the sake of practice on the language. It consists of ideas on cosmogony, mythology, legends of the creation of man, etc., ending in a confused set of rules for cremation and Balinese genealogies. The second half of the manuscript is extremely obscure, full of errors, and appears incomplete, perhaps owing to careless copying of an older palm-leaf book.

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(*banteng*), monkeys, woodpeckers, pythons, etc., of Asia are not to be found farther east, and the cockatoos, parrots, and giant lizards predominate. Bali has the luxuriant vegetation of tropical Asia, while Lombok is arid and thorny, like Australia. Wallace drew a line across the narrow straits between Bali and Lombok, the deepest waters in the archipelago, to divide Asia from Oceania.[3] Today, however, scientists are more inclined to regard the islands as a transitional region.

As in all countries near the Equator, Bali has an eternal summer with even, warm weather, high humidity, and a regular variation of winds, but the unbearable heat of lands similarly situated is greatly relieved by sea breezes that blow constantly over the descending slopes of the four volcanoes that form the island. The seasons are not distinguished as hot and cold, but as wet and dry. It is pleasantly cool and dry during our summer months, when the south-easterly winds blow, but in November the northwest monsoon ushers in six months of a rainy season so violent that it makes everything rot away, growing green whiskers of mould on shoes that are not shined every day. Then the atmosphere becomes hot and sticky and the torrential rains that lash the island cause landslides that often carry enormous trees into the deep ravines cut into the soft volcanic ash by the rivers, themselves red with earth washed from the mountain. Brooks and rivers swell into huge torrents (*bandjir*) that rise unexpectedly with a deafening roar, in front of one's eyes, carrying away earth, plants, and occasional drowned pigs, destroying bridges and irrigation works. It is not unusual for a careless bather to be surprised by a sudden *bandjir* and to be carried away in the muddy stream.

It is only natural that in a land of steep mountains, with such abundant rains, crossed in all directions by streams and great rivers, on a soil impregnated with volcanic ash, the earth should attain great richness and fertility.

[3] Wallace divides the archipelago into Indo-Malayan (west of Bali) and Austro-Malayan (east of Lombok), until Sumbawa, where he draws another line to divide the Malayan from the Polynesian islands.

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attain great richness and fertility. The burning tropical sun shining on the saturated earth produces a steaming, electric, hothouse atmosphere that gives birth to the dripping jungles that cover the slopes of the volcanoes with prehistoric tree-ferns, pandanus, and palms, strangled in a mesh of creepers of all sorts, their trunks smothered with orchids and alive with leeches, fantastic butterflies, birds, and screeching wild monkeys. This exuberance extends to the cultivated parts of the island, where the ricefields that cover this over-populated land produce every year, and without great effort, two crops of the finest rice in the Indies.

Despite the enormous population, the lack of running water has kept the western part of the island uninhabited and wild. The few remaining tigers, and the deer, wild hog, crocodiles, great lizards, jungle cocks, etc., are the sole dwellers in this arid hilly country covered with a dusty, low brush. Curiously enough, the Balinese regard this deserted land (*Pulaki*) as their place of origin. They explain in an old legend that a great city, which still exists, once flourished there, but has been made invisible to human eyes by Wahu Rahu, the greatest Brahmana from Java, who was forced to flee from the capital, Gelgel, to save his beautiful daughter from the king (by caste his inferior) and who found refuge in *Pulaki* by making the city invisible to the wicked king and his followers.

Another arid region in contrast with the extravagant fertility of the island is the peninsula of limestone called Tafelhoek (*Bukit* to the Balinese) which rises to a height of 700 feet above the sea. This curious tableland, which shows every indication of having once been at the bottom of the ocean, is joined to the mainland by a low, narrow isthmus, but its sides rise almost vertically from the sea, and on the extremity of a long narrow rock, with a straight drop of 250 feet, is the fantastically situated temple of Uluwatu, one of the holiest in Bali. This projecting rock is believed to be the ship, turned to stone, of Dewi Danu, the goddess of waters.

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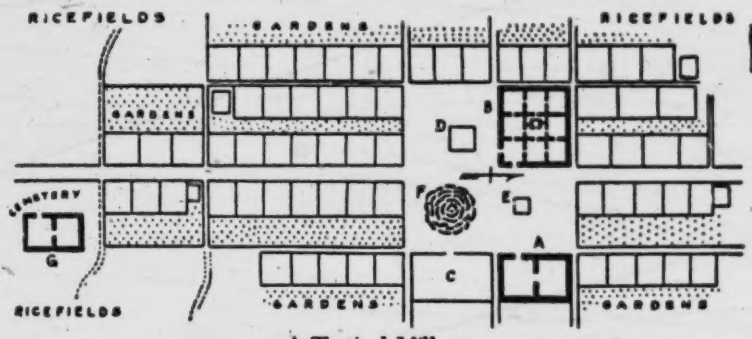
assembly (*balé agung*), the palace of the local feudal prince (B), the market (C), the large shed for cockfights (*wantilan*) (D), and the tall and often elaborate tower where hang the alarm tomtoms (*kulkul*) (E) to call to meetings, announce events, or warn of dangers. Also important to the village life is the ever present *waringin* (F), a giant banyan, the sacred tree of the Hindus, planted in the square. Under its shadow take place the



A Typical Village

A — Pura Desa
B — Puri
C — Market
D — Wantilan
E — Kulkul Tower
F — Waringin
G — Pura Dalam

shows and dances given in connection with the frequent festivals; market is also held there in villages that do not have a special market enclosure. In ancient villages the *waringin* grows to a giant size, shading the entire square and dripping aerial roots that, unless clipped before they reached the ground, would grow into trunks that unchecked might swallow up a village. A beautiful village *waringin* is an enormous rounded dome of shiny leaves supported by a mossy, gnarled single trunk hung with a curtain of tentacles that are cut evenly at the height of a man; but in the *waringins* that have grown freely outside the village, the tree spreads in every direction in fantastic shapes. The aerial filaments dig into the earth and grow into whitish trunks and branches emerging at illogical angles and filled with parasite ferns, a dreamlike forest that is in reality a single tree.

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[137]

The sun sets on the Tabanan coast and rises over the Gunung Agung

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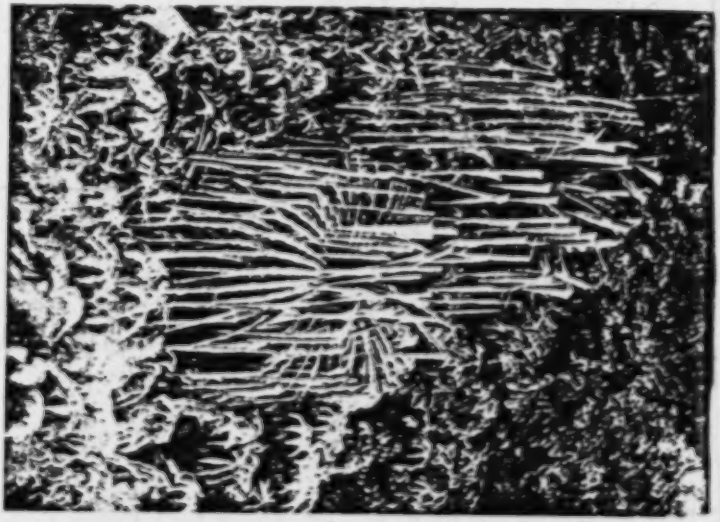

Giant pandanus in the forest of Batukau

[532]

A statue trapped in the roots of a waringin tree

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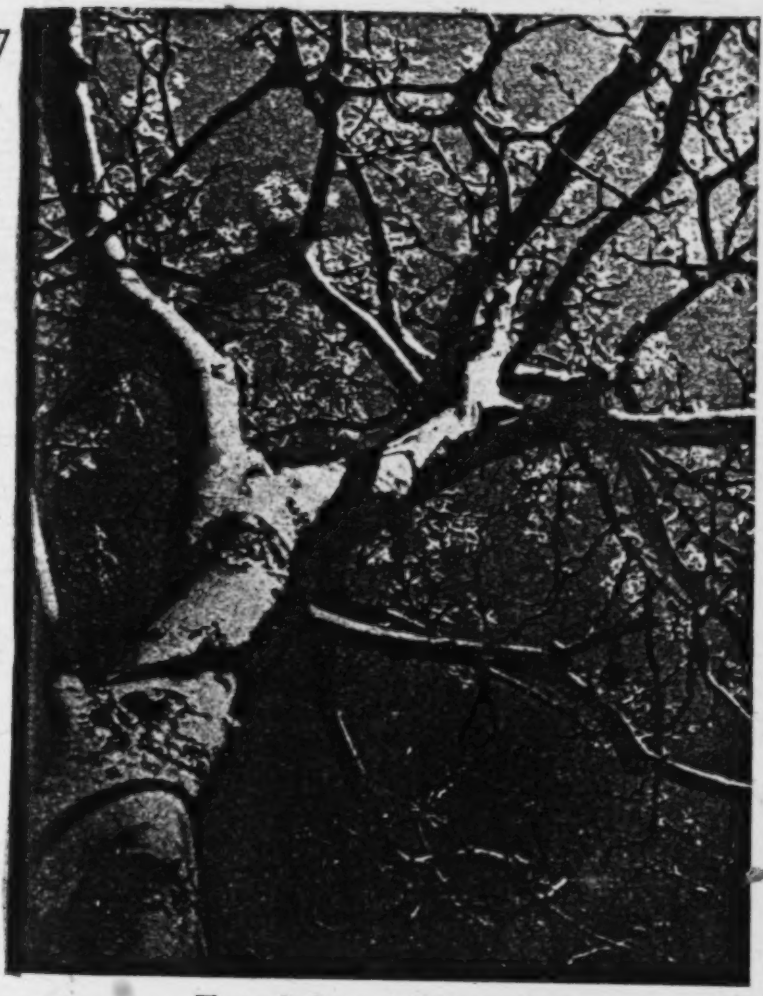

The trunk of an ancient frangipani tree

[P.406 (V)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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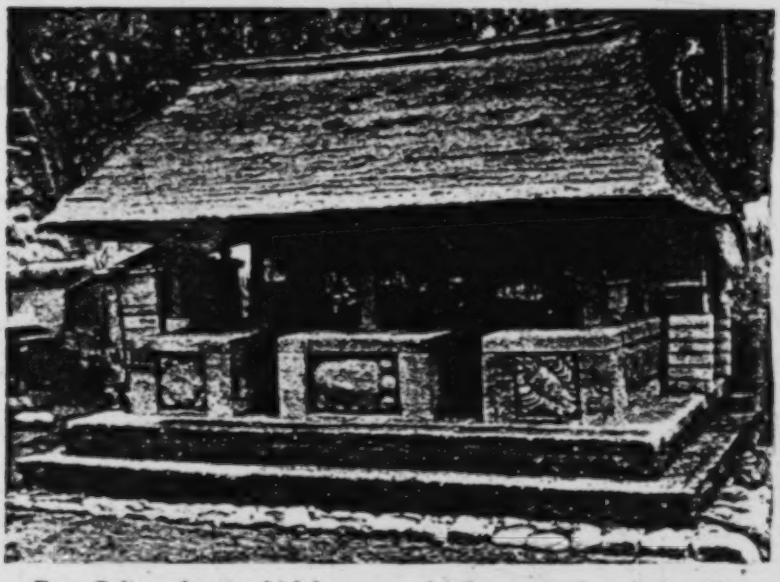

Every Balinese home, which houses one family or a number of related families in its many pavilions, is surrounded by a wall of whitewashed mud

Not all Balinese kitchens are as elaborate as this, with its carved stone ornaments of crabs, turtles, shrimps

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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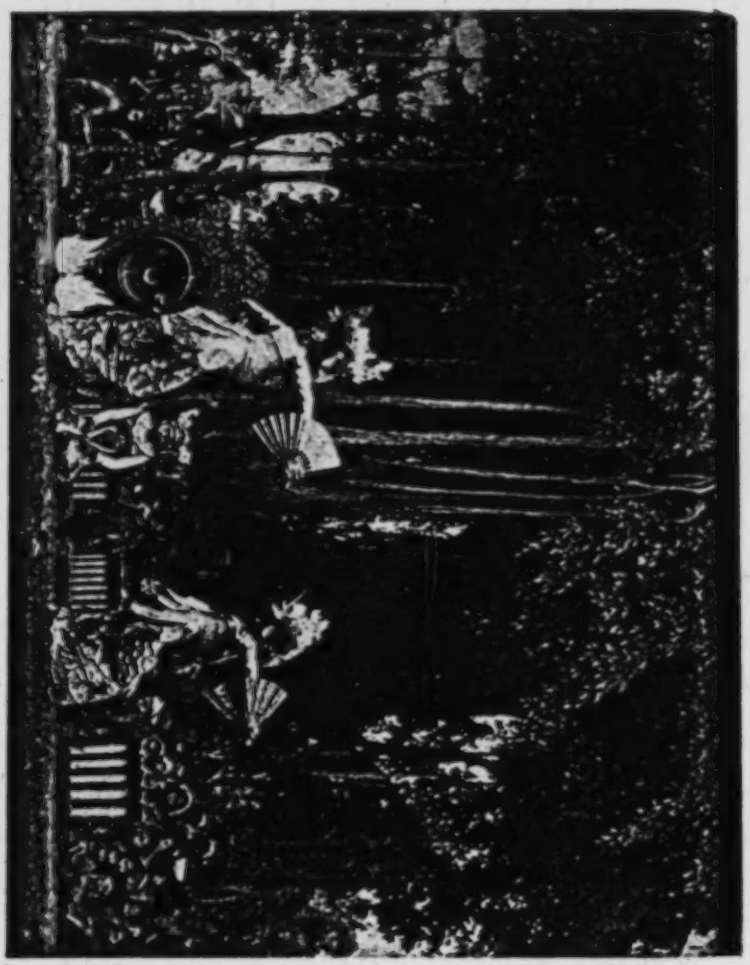

The finest exponents of the legong, archetype of the delicate and feminine dance, perform under the waringin tree in the village of Saba

[P. 406(L)]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

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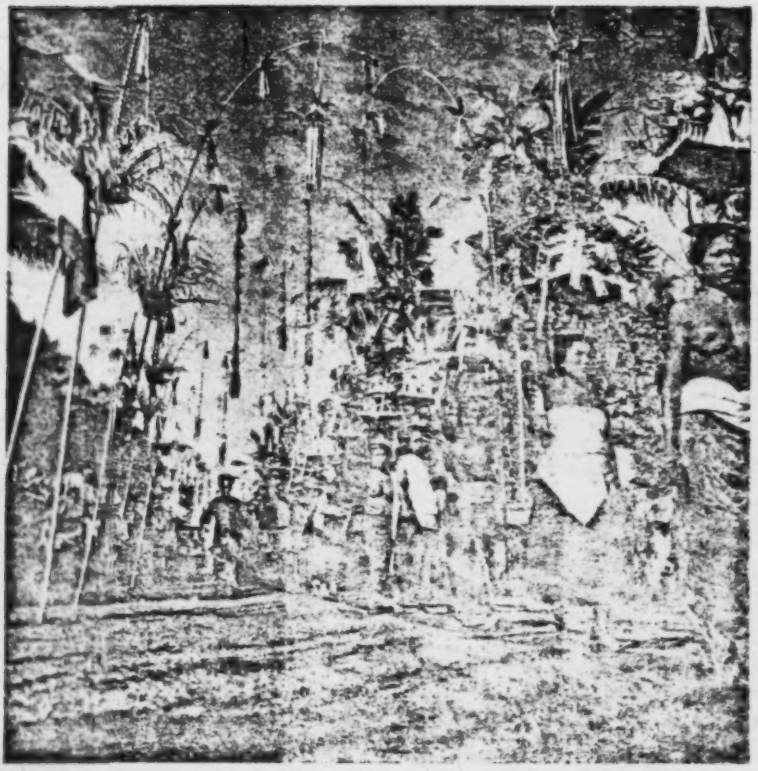

Procession, bearing offerings to the temple. The roadway is decorated with bamboo poles (*penjor*).

Frontispiece
[opp. title page]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

compassion, to help the banished ones, for it is lonely beside the graveyard and evil creatures (*léyak*) roam there at night, and one would not dare to be there alone, no, not even ten strong men would dare to sleep there, but if there are fifty it is noisy and no one is afraid.

So the villagers brought bamboo poles and rough mats of woven coconut fronds and sheaves of the long grass which grows upon the hillsides. With the posts of the old house and a few green trees as supports, they patched together a shelter some forty feet long by twelve feet wide. (The original house measured perhaps fifteen feet by nine). At the northwest end (*tēbènan*) of the building a private room was walled off for the parents with the twins, provided with a hearth for their use. The watchmen have two long rows of boards laid on stones for their sleeping place, and a kitchen outside to the southeast. The mother and the father of the twins may not cook their food in the same kitchen with the watchmen, for they are too unclean.

By evening the *kubu* was ready, a draughty and uncomfortable place, for the reception of the unlucky family. The mother of the twins, still weak from a difficult birth, was carried down the hillside and installed in this prison which she might not leave for a month and seven days. The grandmother of the twins carried in a coconut shell their joined placenta, wrapped in cloth together with as much of the blood, amniotic fluid and sack, as could be collected. The *ari-ari* (placenta with umbilical cord) of any new born child is called his brother (*nyamă*) and must be buried in or before the house. A shrine is made for this ugly and terrifying brother, and offerings given to it daily so that it may watch over the living child. The *ari-ari* of the twins was taken to the *kubu* and buried under the hearth in the private room of the parents.

I have heard in Bali that twins such as these are 'wrong' because the boy and the girl are as if married in the womb. I have heard also that if a boy child brings his wife with him out of the womb, it is a birth such as only gods and kings may have. For the common *sudră* it is an affront to

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

*783 elaborate offerings [27]. I have never seen these in use, nor have I seen an
778 example of the pot with six spouts, which should, according to the system
415 occur.

Although other objects may be lacking amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan*, these pots are essential for the preparation of holy water by the *padanda*. If the earthenware pots are not available young coconuts, with pieces of bamboo for spouts, are used instead.

[137] In each of the *kumba charatan* there is a *plawa*, a small, stiff brush made from ten different sorts of leaves, *bunut bulu*, *anchak*, *bingin*, *Kumara*
*783 *Jaya*, *Kumara Ratih*, *slisih*, *mihik*, *myana*, *chamara*, *blangsah*, *bwah*,
778 *ambĕngan*. The leaves are bound together with a red black white thread, *bĕnang tri-datu*, the colours denoting respectively Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara.

The number of spouts of the various *kumba charatan* is not fixed arbitrarily, for these numbers also occur repeatedly in Balinese texts [28]. In the Buda Kachapi [29], a 'medico-philosophic' treatise, this series denotes the number of tiers of each of the *mérus* of the respective cardinal points. These same numbers are again found in the Chapa Kala [30], a *ruwat* [illegible]
[773] or purificatory myth, which tells of Kala, the malevolent aspect of Siwa. A *wayang* performance of the Chapa Kala is given when a village has to be
[845] purified after the birth of twins of different sexes to parents not belonging to the *brahman*, *ksatriya* or *wésya* castes [31] and at the birthday celebrations of children for whom a purificatory ritual is considered necessary. I hope at a later date to discuss this point in connection with another subject.

*783 The myth relates that Kala was born from a crystal guarded by all the gods of
773 the *nawa sanga*. Batara Guru assigned to his son Kala the crossing of the great
776 roads as dwelling place, and it was so that, when the sun shone at the highest point in the sky, Kala might devour all who came that way. Kala descended to the crossroads when the sun was at its zenith, there devouring many mortals, 5,500 in the East, 9,900 in the South, 4,400 in the North and 7,700 in the West. Thus he did until the sun sunk from the sky. In the Centre Kala fed himself with 8,800 mortals. Then with the going of the sun came respite in the orgy of agony and death. Thus did Kala wreak great havoc, devouring mankind by the light of day.

In fear the mortals flocked together in great throngs. Countless were those who were done to death. As hunted creatures of the forest they fled seeking refuge in deep valleys and desolate places, but flight did not save them from the hungry jaws of Kala. Lamenting they cried out to the Highest God.

[27] *Puja Padudusan Agung*, K. 1457.

[28] Swellengrebel, op. cit., p. 22. Jane Belo, *Bali Temple Festival*, Monograph of the American Ethnological Society, XXII, 1953. J. J. Augustin Publisher, Locust Valley, New York, p. 27.

[29] K. 1864; probably also occurring in the similarly titled manuscript in the Leiden collection.

[30] K. 504.

[31] Cf. Jane Belo, '*A Study of Customs pertaining to Twins in Bali*', Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXXV, 4, 1935, pp. 483-549.